

VIA: AIR  
(SPECIF OR SEA POUCH)

1P  
LATCH NO. EGMA-22960

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
CLASSIFICATION

MAY 21 1962

TO : Chief, SR

DATE: 31 August 1956

FROM : Chief of Base, Munich

INFO: EE, COS/G

SUBJECT: GENERAL REDWOOD/AERODYNAMIC

SPECIFIC Publicity re Exploitation of Documents from USSR

Reference: EGMA-22491, dated 3 August 1956

AB	X
IN	
PS	
BX	
DEC	NFD
FI	

1. Forwarded herewith are the following AECAPLIN/2 translations of emigre press articles concerning the documents which were smuggled from the USSR:

- A. "We Do Not Beg for Mercy", published by Shlyakh Peremohy on 29 July 1956.
- B. "A Letter to Each of Us", published by Ukrayinsky Samostiynyk on 29 July 1956.
- C. "The World is Interested in the Letters of Political Prisoners", published by Ukrayinsky Samostiynyk on 5 August 1956.
- D. "Press Conference in Bonn", published by Ukrayinsky Samostiynyk on 5 August 1956.
- E. "Two Serious Accusations against the Soviets", published by Khrystiynskyy Holos on 5 August 1956.
- F. "Voice from Russian Prisons", published by Ukrayinske Slovo in its 5-12 August 1956 edition.

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3028  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
DATE 2007

2. Forwarded as Attachment G is a copy of the August-September 1956 edition of ABN-Correspondence which devotes a good portion of this edition to the subject documents.

Approved: [Signature]

Attachments: as stated herewith  
DISTRIBUTION:

14-WASH w/Atts. A-G *Encl A/S*  
2-COS w/Atts. A-F (w/o Att.G)  
2-MOB w/Atts. A-G

COPY ROUTING	
PP	<i>via H-G</i>
PP	
CS COPY	<i>03/3</i>

HDP:srf

Removed from Project *aerodynamic*

CS Classification: 74-124-29/3

JOB # 69-425/83

Box: 2/1 Fold: 10  
FORM NO. 51-28A  
MAR. 1949

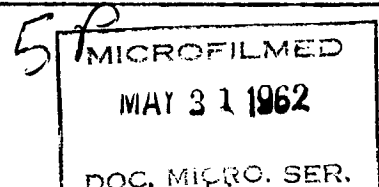
**CONFIDENTIAL**  
CLASSIFICATION

74-124-29/3  
74-6-83 2-2037

page one

(Translation)

"WE DO NOT BEG FOR MERCY"



Here are two important documents from the concentration camps of the prison of nations which were brought to the notice of the Ukrainian community in the migration at the press conference of ZP UHVR. They tell their own tale. They also confirm the information about the situation in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps after the death of STALIN and BERIA, which the western world has so far received from the returnees. They are more convincing than the big volumes in which the horrors have been described. In short and bold words they reflect not only the immense suffering, but also the heroic resistance of the prisoners who suffer, but do not repent.

Every sentence, every word was written in blood; they were ~~xxxx~~ conscious of the big risk; but there is no trace of fear, no imploring in them; it is a bold appeal to the freedom-loving mankind, to its humane feelings. Those words have been written by fighters who are ready to die for human dignity at any time, who do not tolerate the humiliation of man. Those words have been written by worthy successors of the 500 Ukrainian heroines from KINGIRI who ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ who died voluntarily in order to protect their comrades.

"We do not beg for mercy", but "we demand and lay a claim to our vital rights in conformity with the established law, which ~~xxx~~ should be acknowledged by the whole civilized world". It is the voice of stable fighters ~~who~~ are ready to die in order to ~~save~~ the life of others, to protect what is <sup>the</sup> most precious in man: his honour, dignity, freedom.

What an effort had to be made by the prisoners in order to <sup>RA</sup>transmit the historical documents to the free world! Each of them, even

Received from Project Aerodynamic  
CS Classification 74-124-29/3  
JOB # 69-425/83  
Box: 21 Fold 10

if he signed his assumed name to the documents, did it at the risk of his life. The whole camp took a big risk, too, particularly those who undertook to deliver the document to the free world. Therefore, those people in the emigration who happened to get the documents, could not do anything else than to charge the whole Ukrainian community with submitting the case to the UNO because the documents are addressed to the whole free world-the UNO, and the whole Ukrainian community in the emigration,

Now, there is a great task before the Ukrainian community: to do everything in its power in order to inform the free world about the situation in Soviet concentration camps and to make it consider the prisoners' demands at the next session of UNO. In the international-legal respect the documents have been formulated in such a way that they can be discussed at the session of UNO. The prisoners' Appeal puts in the forefront the postulates which are linked up with the rights of man and citizen, and not the national-political ones, although the tone and content of the Appeal are in harmony with the political aim of the Ukrainian revolutionary-liberation struggle. Therefore, they should be considered in the aspects of the Charter of UNO. We hope that the free world, particularly the USA, free China, Spain will give the matter their very careful consideration and do everything in their power in order to make UNO consider the demands of the prisoners of Soviet prisons and concentration camps.

Now UNO has an opportunity, on the basis of the prisoners' demands, to unmask the KHRUSHCHEV "new era", "the thaw", and to ask that Bolshevik Russia should comply with the prisoners' demands. If KHRUSHCHEV fails to satisfy their demands, he will turn out to be a hangman like STALIN. We do not doubt but that nothing will change in the USSR until the prison of nations is destroyed and a democratic order is established in free national states of those peoples. But the bringing-up of the prisoners'

demands for discussion at the next session of UNO and a full support of the demands by the whole freedom-loving world, a condemnation of the Kremlin tyrants, a demand ~~to comply with all~~ ~~the provisions of the Charter~~ that all the members of the United Nations Organization should comply with all the provisions of its Charter, and in case of non-compliance, a taking of legal consequences provided by the statute of UNO - this is the minimum which the West must do if it does not want to lose its character and to remain an ordinary trafficker in the life and freedom of peoples.

We hope that all the members of the Ukrainian community in the emigration, irrespective of their party-political views, will unanimously join the common action, that in view of the demands of our brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers who are fighting for our freedom and independence in the concentration camps, they will not enter their narrow party-political claims. The letters from the prisoners are addressed to all Ukrainians and all the peoples of the free world, and not to a political party; they have not been delivered by a political party. We are sure that in view of the great sacrifice of our comrades in the concentration camps the Ukrainians will launch a general Ukrainian campaign in the forum of UNO and in the free world.

The preparatory committee which was organized in MUNICH at the information conference, will certainly bear in mind that our ~~Churches~~ Churches, our scientific, social, veterans', charity, youth, political organizations, and the whole Ukrainian community should take part in the action. It is not only an action of political organizations; it is an action of all the Ukrainians in the emigration who desire the independence of the Ukraine, and not non-predetermination. The Appeal to UNO supporting the prisoners demands should be signed by dozens and hundreds of thousands of our

political refugees in the whole world because we have left our country in order to protect the fighters in our Native Country.

Besides, all of us must support the action by means of our contacts. Therefore, our scientists should include in the action the friendly scientists of the free peoples, the ecclesiastical circles - the Church of the West, the TsESUS - the international students' organizations, the SUM and the Boy Scout Organization - the youth organizations of the free peoples, the UMKhS - the International Red Cross. Through their contacts our political ~~xxx~~ ~~gan~~ circles should induce the political organizations of the free peoples to give the matter their very careful consideration, and the international organizations in whose work Ukrainians take part, should also support the action and extend it to the prisoners of all the nationalities in the USSR according to the demands of the authors of the document from Mordovya. Thus, jointly and each of us individually will strive for what our comrades in the concentration camps demand of us. The free world should see the unanimous attitude of all the Ukrainian patriots sympathizing with our fighters who have not laid down their arms. The aim of the individual and common actions should be following: to inform the free world about the documents, to win its favour for the prisoners' demands, and to strive ~~for~~ <sup>to get</sup> ~~to get~~ bringing up ~~the~~ the matter for discussion at the next session of UNO and ~~for~~ a positive decision.

Those who will read the documents, must ponder over the following words of the prisoners' appeal: "They (Soviet reports in the concentration camps - my annotation Z.K.) cause a conclusion ~~that~~ (if only it were true!) that our position in the international political ~~life~~ has improved - and, therefore, the Bolshevik propaganda has adopted a proper course. The political prisoners of other nationalities of the Soviet Union forgivingly envy us; if only our joy were not vain!" (Underlined by Z.K.). In another place:

"We are sure that having gone through the mill you will honestly carry out the ~~tasks~~ tasks which every nation puts before its political emigration, that the years you have spent in the emigration will not be a "wasted time".

Is it really so that in our activity in the emigration our foreign political action in favour of our fighting Native Country has an advantage over everything else? Each of us should honestly reply to that question of conscience.

Thus, in view of the important documents let us recover what we have neglected, and assign a proper place to the demands in the hierarchy of our tasks.

  
Z. KARBOVICH

July 29, 1956, page one

(Translation)

A LETTER TO EACH OF US

419  
MICROFILMED

MAY 31 1962

DOC. MICRO. SER.

After long years of expectation and concern for the fate of those who have assumed the burden of fighting and are responsible for the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in the Ukraine, we have again received a letter from behind the iron curtain, a piece of news from those who always live in our thoughts and hearts. From far Mordovya in Siberia we have received a letter which was written 8 months ago. Upon its publication in the press it became a precious property of every Ukrainian man and woman in the emigration; it changed to a private letter to every emigrant, to our organizations, political parties and centers.

The last similar letter under the heading "Appeal of the Fighting Ukraine to Ukrainian Emigration" signed by (General) Taras ~~CHUPRYNKA~~, by representatives of the underground Church, and by 33 leading man of Ukrainian liberation revolution, was delivered to us, Ukrainian emigrants, as late as 1950. Almost 6 years have passed since that time. During that time the revolutionary forces of the Ukraine suffered heavy losses which evoked deep mourning and grief among them: Roman SHUKHEVICH-CHUPRYNKA died the death of a hero; P.POLTAVA is lost; KUZHIL has passed away; O.HORNOVY has disappeared from the ranks of the underground army; Vasyl OKHRYMOVICH is lost. Hearing the ~~xxx~~ distressing news we often asked one another: Are they still alive? Are they fighting? Will they stand it or collapse under the blows of their hard, cruel fate?

Now an answer has been given to the anxious question of all of us, <sup>the</sup> several hundreds of thousands of emigrants scattered all over Europe, America, Asia, Australia, and Africa: will they stand it or collapse? No! They will stand it and will not collapse!

Today we can be sure of it. Every word, every line of the letter makes us believe in the strength of our fighters even if they are imprisoned, even if they are far from the Ukraine, even if it seems as though the enemy triumphed over them. With their own hand and heart they inform us that even there, in the far frosty north, they have not lost hope. What's more! Even there they are fighting as they once fought in their native forests, mountains, and mountain-valleys. The enemy scattered them all over the boundless territory of his empire and thought that he had achieved his object; he was sure that he had suppressed the heroic resistance spirit, that he had brought the unruly Ukraine to its knees. However, by scattering ~~mixx~~ its fighters he dispersed the irresistible spirit of Ukrainian revolutionists all over his large empire; he scattered embers which are smouldering and ~~mixx~~ bursting into thousands of flames in order to burst some time into the big flame of an All-Union revolution and to burn to ashes the shameful yoke and humiliation.

Today we see that the greatest achievement of the Ukrainian national revolution is the fact that it has paved the way for the active fight of the whole population of the USSR against tyranny; we see that it is the Ukrainian nationalists-revolutionists who have extinguished the fear of <sup>o</sup>violence and terror, who have raised faith in the fight against the tyrants and dashed the ~~ix~~ legend of the invincibility of NKVD and its system. Though they are imprisoned and without arms, they have not lost faith <sup>either</sup> ~~ix~~ in themselves or in their idea. It was the invincible and unruly Ukrainian revolutionists who flung 40.000 prisoners of various nationalities on the enemy guards, gained the victory, and compelled the brutal enemy to make concessions. "At the cost of the life and health of several thousand killed and wounded comrades we have achieved the abolition of the rigorous regime and the establishment of the eight-hours' day"--in such simple, ordinary



words they inform us about the whole "epopee" behind which there is a unique effort of human spirit and human will.

Today the world very rightly admires the heroic deed of the POZNAN insurrectionists, but it should all the more be astonished at the great deed~~s~~ of our prisoners who, though separated from the world, rushed with bare hands at the armed enemy in the name of human dignity and freedom. "For freedom of nations and individuals!" - a slogan which was once to be heard from village to village, from town to town, from man to man, from child to child in the Ukraine alone, is today to be heard in the virgin forests of Siberia, in the taiga of the frigid zones, in the slave labour camps, in the huts of Kazakhstan. Today we do not doubt but that barricades will be built under those slogans, that all peoples will defend them, that all those who love the life and freedom, will fight for them. "For freedom of nations and man"! - this is a slogan which prepares for the future fight, which reminds us of the coming-to-grips with Bolshevism which must certainly come because "there is always tomorrow".

And we, the emigrants? What can we reply to their letter? What successes can we confront with their successes? Have we achieved at least something equivalent in NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, TORONTO, MUNICH, LONDON, PARIS, SYDNEY? Should we contrast our own houses with their successes? Our cars of the most modern type? No! The ~~dis~~organized political life? The fight for personal and party interests? The hatred among the Ukrainians? The denationalized children, the changed names, the emigrants' sullen apathy? What should we write to those who believe in us, who expect our return, who expect a concerted action and work for the Ukraine, and not a party quarrel, of us?

If we are still able to understand what is great and noble - and great and noble is their life and suffering there - we shall

give an answer which will unite their forces and those of all the Ukrainians on ~~xxx~~ all continents into a combined effort, and then - as a reward for it -the Providence will, we are sure of it, crown us with a wreath of laurel and give us freedom in our own independent state.

August 5, 1956, page one

(Translation)

38

MICROFILMED

MAY 31 1962

THE WORLD IS INTERESTED IN THE LETTERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

DOC. MICRO. SER.

The information campaign in America

On July 20th of this year an information meeting summoned by the chief branch of ZP UHVR was held in the Ukrainian national home in NEW YORK, at which the head of the branch-office, (Dr) Myroslav PROKOP, and the secretary general for foreign affairs of UHVR informed those present of the content of the documents received from Ukrainian political prisoners of Soviet concentration camps, of the distribution of the concentration camps on the territory of the USSR, and of the strikes which were organized by Ukrainian prisoners in the recent years. About 50 representatives of almost all the political groups and social institutions were present at the meeting. Among those present there were the following persons: B. KRAVTSIV, (Col) A. KMETA, (Dr) V. KALYNA, O. HLA-DYSHOVSKY, V. BOROVYK, Ya. HAYVAS, (Dr) I. M. NOVOSILSKY, V. DUSHNYK, (Rev) M. KOHUT, (Rev) V. ANDRUSHKIV, (Professor) M. CHUBATY, M. RUDNYTSKA, V. NOVYTSKY, L. BURACHYNSKA, I. BILYNSKY, O. LYSYAK, (Dr) Ya. VOYEVIDKA, and many others. Mykola LEBED informed those present of the still unknown facts and persons who are imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps and solitary confinement cells, as for example, the death of Canon KOVALSKY from LVOV. The letters were read aloud to those present by (Professor) P. HOLUBENKO and K. KOKHNO which was followed by a short discussion. The whole text of the documents was published by Svoboda ("Freedom") and Ameryka ("America") of July 24th of this year.

On July 23th, at fifteen hours, a press conference for the American press, with the participation of UKKA, was held in the hotel "Commodore". Representatives of the "United Press", "Associated Press", "International News Service", "Catholic Press

Service", HERST's press concern, Radio "Free Europe", "Voice of America", "Liberation", the AKVB, the Georgians and Lithuanians - about 30 foreigners all told - were present at the conference.

The conference was opened by (Dr.) Dmytro HALYCHYN, president of UKKA; Editor Volodymyr DUSHNYK informed those present about the documents; Mykola LEBED together with Volodymyr DUSHNYK answered to their numerous questions. The questions asked by the foreigners touched, first of all, on the problem: what the United Nations Organization will do with the documents; but those questions can, for the present, not be answered. After the conference the guests were entertained at a banquet at which the representatives of the agencies and the press received further information about Soviet concentration camps and the prisoners' fight, under the guidance of Ukrainians, for the fundamental rights of man and for the national ideals of the enslaved peoples.

The whole text of our prisoners' letters from Soviet concentration camps was published by the journal "National Review" of August 1st. The press of HERST's concern published news of the documents and the press conference in its issue of July 24th. Besides, this news was also published by the newspaper "New York Journal American". We hope that further commentaries on the matter will appear in the press when political circles raise the question of the letters.

The secretary general for foreign affairs of UHVR, Mykola LEBED, has already had a talk about the documents with the representatives of different countries, members of UNO. Some of them took a lively interest in the matter, and many letters are being received from them. Congressman DODD has informed Mykola LEBED that he will cause the documents to be entered in the record of the Congress.

In a word, not only the German press, but also American newspapers and periodicals have taken a lively interest in the documents. The most notable thing about the documents is that almost

the whole Ukrainian community in USA has responded to the call of our sisters and brothers in the concentration camps. We think that the call will also be supported by the small Ukrainian emigrant groups which have hesitated till now. The matter of the documents is undoubtedly a general matter, and nothing can prevent the Ukrainians from supporting the prisoners' appeal to UNO.

(Translation)

PRESS CONFERENCE IN BONN

48  
MICROFILMED

MAY 31 1962

DOC. MICRO. SER.

Having informed the Ukrainian community about the documents received from Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR the branch of ZP UHVR in Germany organized a press conference for the international press in BONN on July 24th.

The conference in which 40 guests took part, was held in the premises of the "Bürgerverein". In spite of the vacation, the press took a lively interest in the conference. By the way, the following persons participated in the conference: <sup>from</sup> ~~ABRAUTIGAM~~, <sup>from</sup> ~~STRECKER~~, <sup>from</sup> ~~SOMMER~~, and <sup>from</sup> ~~WALLENSTEIN~~ on behalf of the Foreign Ministry, the first secretary and now chief of the Japanese embassy, (Mr.) ~~TOKURA~~, (Mrs.) and (Mr.) ~~ARTIGAS~~ on behalf of the Spanish embassy, (Mr.) ~~RUPPERT~~ on behalf of the "International Committee for defence of Christian culture", (Mr.) ~~BEKAAR~~ on behalf of Radio ~~HILVERSUM~~/the Netherlands, (Mr.) ~~von GROTE~~ on behalf of the German Industrial Institute, Messrs. ~~HEROLD~~ and ~~ARXENHARTO~~ on behalf of the Federal Press-Department, (Mr.) ~~LUDER~~ on behalf of the Ministry for Refugees, representatives of the press agency "DPA", the press service of the SPD, the press service "DIMITAG", the National Union for Peace and Freedom, the Bureau for Stateless Foreigners and others.

The conference was opened by Editor Volodymyr ~~STAKHIV~~ who briefly and concisely informed those present about the documents. He pointed out that it was for the second time in history that the free world received original documents from Soviet concentration camps. For the first time it received such documents as late as 1937. Editor ~~STAKHIV~~ also answered to the questions of those present. The questions were serious and purposeful; nobody doubted as to the authenticity of the documents; everyone respected the

necessary discretion. A very precious information about the conditions in the concentration camps was given during the discussion by Dr. ~~W~~WALLENSTEIN who had spent 11 years in Soviet prisons and camps. He said that Ukrainian prisoners played a leading part in the prisoners' unanimous resistance to the camp administration. ~~(Dr. Rev. Ivan HRYNIOKH~~ gave additional explanation of the character and content of the documents. The appeal of a group of Ukrainian political prisoners is neither a political declaration nor a diplomatic note; it is a direct voice of the imprisoned ~~people~~ people who are fighting ~~in~~ for freedom and believe in justice. They are not individuals selected from groups of revolutionists, as it was often the case in the tsarist Russian empire, but people from the broad masses of the society. But those people have destroyed the mythical belief that under Soviet conditions it is impossible to offer a successful resistance. Even in concentration camps they do not lose courage, but continue their fight and attain success. They belong to the category of people who protested in the streets of BERLIN two years ago, and raised a rebellion in POZNAN a few weeks ago. The tourists from the Western World who now visit the USSR in large numbers, should not forget that there is a large number of concentration camps behind the façade of that ~~six~~ country which they should visit first thing and pray for all those who have died there because they loved freedom.

After the breaking-up of the official part of the conference, the discussion and talks continued for a long time.

Already during the conference, in the broadcast "Echo of the day" from 18,35 to 19 hours, the broadcasting stations KÖLN and HAMBURG informed their listeners ~~about~~ <sup>of</sup> the content of the documents and commented on them. It said in the broadcast: "A unique, but touching document was published in two places of the Western

World today. In NEW YORK and BONN the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council reported that during the Soviet rule in Russia which has already lasted almost 40 years, a cry for aid from the concentration camps of the Soviet Union had been heard in the free world for the second time, in spite of the barbed wire and special guard - not only a cry for aid, but also a touching ~~confession~~ statement that there, behind the iron curtain, the people in camps have not lost courage. A small linen sheet, 46 x 46 cm, thickly covered with Cyrillic letters, is the document on which it was reported in NEW YORK and BONN today. The linen ~~sheet~~ on whose way from the concentration camps of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Republic which is situated about 500 km to the south-east of MOSCOW, to the General Secretariat of the United Nations Organization in NEW YORK it has not been reported in detail for obvious reasons, was received by the General Secretariat of UNO on July 17th of this year. The men and women of the Ukrainian underground organization, ~~that~~ that is, of the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council, hope that the institutions whose task it is to guarantee human rights, will give that peculiar ~~is~~, to UNO maybe a unique, document their very careful consideration.

Incidentally: The first successful attempt to write to the free world from the concentration and slave labour camps of the Soviet Union was made almost 20 years ago. Then, in 1937, a cargo of Russian lumber reached England. The special boards arrived from Karelia. When the unloading began, letters were discovered on some of the boards. It was a whole letter which reported on the suffering of millions of people who had been imprisoned in camps by the Soviets.

Today we do not know precisely how many people are imprisoned in the Soviet Union. Their number very probably ranges from six to ten million. ~~Half of them~~ 50 per cent of them are Ukrainians



of whose resistance to the Soviet system the document reminds the world. - Then, several sentences from the document were quoted in Ukrainian, and those present were informed in German of the content of the appeal to UNO.

As yet we have no complete survey of the voices of the German press; short announcements have already been published by Münch-  
ner Merkur("The Munich Mercury"), Süddeutsche Zeitung("South-  
German Paper"), and other newspapers. Larger reports are in many local newspapers. Ost-Spiegel("East~~er~~-mirror"), organ of SPD, has published an editorial. Radio "RIAS" <sup>in BERLIN</sup> ~~was~~ twice sent out a broadcast, and Radio STUTTGART has had an interview with Editor STAKHIV. The American weekly "National Review" has published the whole text of the documents with a big commentary.

Our community and foreign circles have already been informed of the documents, but it is only the first step. Now, the whole Ukrainian community in the emigration should do everything in its power in order to "mobilize" the public opinion, to cause the matter to be included in the agenda of UNO, and to move UNO to consider the fate of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union ~~in the juridical respect~~ and to exert a general pressure on the USSR in order to change and improve their conditions of life.

There is a great and urgent task before the planned committee of citizens, and the question <sup>e</sup>whether we shall be ashamed of ourselves before our sisters and brothers in the camps, or having fulfilled our duties shall have a clear conscience, depends on the success of its work and on our co-operation with it.

page one

(Translation)

2 P

MICROFILMED

MAY 31 1962

TWO SERIOUS ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIETS DOC. MICRO. SER.

A letter from Ukrainian women - political prisoners, and an open letter to the whole civilized world from the prisoners in Soviet camps

INFORMATION CONFERENCE

On the initiative of ZP UHVR an information conference was held in MUNICH on July 20th of this year in which about 70 persons took part. The Conference was opened by Darya REBET who said that the aim of the conference was to inform those present about the content of the documents which had been received from Ukrainian political prisoners of Soviet prisons and concentration camps, viz.:

1) The letter from Ukrainian women - political prisoners of Mor-dovian special camps;

2) The open letter to the United Nations Organization, department of human rights, and the whole world from the prisoners of Soviet

camps. - Then Darya REBET asked Editor R.ILNYTSKY to preside over the conference. Editor ILNYTSKY suggested that those present should explore the possibilities of a concerted action as to a proper utilization of the documents.

Then D.REBET and Editor V.STAKHIV read aloud the above mentioned documents to those present and explained them. The reading of the documents was followed by a long and lively discussion in consequence of which an Initiatory Committee was elected which should, as soon as possible, ~~summon~~ a meeting of authorized representatives of our institutions and organizations for drawing a plan of action as to a proper and successful utilization of the mentioned documents. The following people became members of the Committee: the representatives of the Clergy of both the Churches, D.REBET, Editor R.DANYLEVICH, Editor O.KALYNNYK, and M.RUDKO.

All those present received the texts (lithographed) of the two letters which are written on linen, and the representatives of the press received, in addition to that, ~~the~~ photostats of the documents.

At the end of the discussion Editor V. STAKHIV said that ZP UHVR planned a press conference for foreign journalists in BONN. The conference in which one of the members of the Initiatory Committee took part as observer, was held on July 24th of this year. Information about the conference concerning the above mentioned documents appeared in several German newspapers and in German radio.

x      x      x

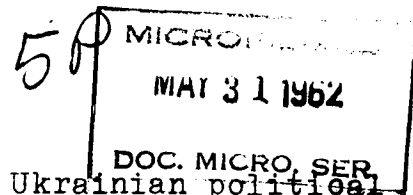
In today's issue of "Kh.H." we publish the full text of the first document (The letter from Ukrainian women - political prisoners). The second document - the Open Letter to UNO from the prisoners of Soviet camps - will be published in the next issue of "Kh.H.".

The Editorial Office

page one

(Translation)

VOICE FROM RUSSIAN PRISONS



The letters which have been received from Ukrainian political prisoners in the far Russian north, are another proof of our repeated assertions that the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people is going on, that our best and most courageous fighters fall in that struggle.

Once we were tried by the regular courts of the occupants; Ukrainian insurrectionists were very often sentenced by jury-courts. The attorneys and the press enjoyed the freedom, though it was limited; the letters and declarations of the prisoners reached even the most remote places of the country. When the prisoners pleaded guilty and stated the motives of their deeds, and the "motive" was always an independent Ukraine, all this was a convincing proof and argument even to those who did not live in the Native Country.

The Russian prison-system is quite different. Everything is done secretly there because the posts of judges are held by criminals who being conscious of their guilt pronounce the sentences secretly. Such a criminal system must be opposed by means of a different system of fight, by means of other methods.

First of all, the nation has split into two parts: a very small number co-operates with the enemy, and it is clearly separated from the overwhelming majority which has proved itself to be nationally and morally so strong and united that the enemy has been unable, in spite of his persistent efforts and different methods and means, to penetrate into its ranks in order to poison it from inside. Even there, in the far north, in the concentration camps, the national strength, the will-power and unity of Ukrainian political prisoners have compelled the ~~enemy~~ enemy to resort to such base means as, for example, the slinging of mud at Ukrainian political emigrants and

labeling them as foreign agents.

The ways and means are not new. They have been typical of Russian imperialism from time immemorial. At first, the enemy liquidates the most talented people, hinders others in their spiritual development, and then says that there are no gifted people among the Ukrainians. In this way the enemy tries to shake the Ukrainian political prisoners' faith in the possibility of realization of our national ideal, claiming that, even if the Russians agreed to the establishment of an independent Ukraine, it has no leading, talented people who would be able to organize the state and to govern it. Thus, the Ukrainians must willy-nilly ~~xxxx~~<sup>side</sup> with their "elder brother".

Those of us who fought in the past, know that Russian prisons, Siberia have annihilated many a revolutionist, but we also know that there are new revolutionists who have managed to break the Russian yoke; they do not co-operate with the Russians, but work for the Ukraine.

The letter of Ukrainian political prisoners stating that nothing has changed in the Russian empire after the death of STALIN, is just a confirmation of what we repeatedly declared and wrote and what has ~~been~~ been declared and written by outstanding foreigners who do not content themselves with KHRUSHCHEV's or BULGANIN's smile. The desire of Russian imperialists to lay the blame for the infinite number of crimes on STALIN and thus to defend and to clear the Russian state system, Russian communism, and Russian imperialism --is too striking and clear.

In their letter Ukrainian political prisoners also speak of the attitude of the political prisoners of other nationalities towards the Ukrainians: highest esteem for the Ukrainians and firm hope of the success of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. It is clear that the Russians do not fight against the regime, and therefore there are <sup>almost</sup> no Russian political prisoners either

in the prisons or ~~XXXXX~~ concentration camps of the USSR. We often called upon the Ukrainians to realize the post occupied by the Ukraine in the fight against Russian imperialism, to realize that it is its duty to help other peoples enslaved by Russia to make themselves free, to be the organizer of a new state-political order in Eastern Europe. Otherwise the liberation fight, even if successful in the beginning, might result in a defeat, as it was the case in the years 1918-19. Russian imperialism cannot be destroyed, and a lasting peace and the independence of the Ukraine cannot be guaranteed by a mere separation of the Ukraine from Russia. A Ukrainian system which would also be good for other peoples enslaved by Russia, must be confronted with Russian imperialist system.

We know that Ukrainian political emigration has so far failed to create a united front, although the enemy has united all the Ukrainians in the Native Country. The reasons of the disunion among the Ukrainian emigration should be sought for not in the fundamental questions because an overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian emigration is in favour of the realization of our national-state ideal through our liberation struggle. But the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian emigration has so far failed to give the necessary maximum in the international forum. It is caused by two main reasons: mutual distrust and lack of funds. To remove the distrust and the setting of people by the ears means, at the same time, to create favourable conditions for gaining the necessary funds from the Ukrainian emigration. All of us should rise to that highest level - that is what is demanded by the Ukraine, what is demanded by Ukrainian political prisoners in Russian prisons and concentration camps in their letter and greetings to the emigration.

The letter of Ukrainian political prisoners addressed to the United Nations Organization, deserves a special attention. The letter is a proof of the correct appraisal of the present-day

legal status of the Ukraine as a state. It is neither the status of an independent state nor of a dominion nor of an autonomous republic. It may rather be designated as an existing state which in fact, as a state, has been deprived of all its rights. That is, there is a state whose rights have been usurped by Russia. There was once a state, but Russia has replaced it by its administrative machinery and transferred all the rights of a sovereign state to itself and its communist party.

We have always pointed out that the fight between the Ukraine and Russia is not a fight for the overthrow of the present-day Russian regime and <sup>for</sup> nothing else, as it was repeatedly claimed by the enemies of an independent Ukraine in the foreign world. None of the liberation fights of the enslaved peoples has ever been considered in such aspects. In their liberation fight neither the Finnish people nor the Polish nor the Czech nor the Ukrainian preferred the social element to the national. Therefore, their fight was either completely or partly or temporarily successful, and even the Russian victory has failed to liquidate the liberation fight. The national idea of the peoples enslaved by Russia is incompatible and will always be incompatible with the idea of the Russian people, that is, the idea of imperialism, colonialism, assimilation, religious oppression, and the like.

The appeal of Ukrainian political prisoners to the United Nations Organization is an important document of the time; it is a document which reflects the thoughts, views, and attitude not only of the prisoners, but of the whole Ukrainian people. Obviously, the document cannot achieve success immediately. But the unceasing liberation fight in the Native Country, the powerful voice of Ukrainian political prisoners, ~~the~~ concerted action of the Ukrainian emigration will finally attain the desired success. Let us recall that deciding the question of the future belonging of the Western Lands of the Ukraine CHURCHILL, EDEN, and ROOSEVELT pointed out that

the inclusion of the West-Ukrainian Lands in the Ukraine was a legal act, and not a result of the victory gained by arms. The opinion of the statesmen had been caused by the fight of the Ukrainians of those lands and by their action in the international forum. Therefore, they even took a decision against the will of their ally.

Obviously, to those who believe in the durability of the "co-existence" and take what is transient for an unalterable thing, the letter of Ukrainian political prisoners to the Ukrainian emigration and their appeal to the United Nations Organization are acts which cannot stop the progress of the "co-existence". But to all those who firmly believe in the victory of the Ukrainian cause, who even in the emigration are anxious about the fate of the Ukrainian people, the voice from Russian prisons, the appeal of Ukrainian political prisoners is an act of great importance and great joy.

It is a voice of our fellow-countrymen who are still alive, but doomed to death. Although they are conscious of ~~that~~ it, they *are firm,* call upon us in a powerful voice, express their desires whose realization will lead us to a better future.

74-124-29/3